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AT THE END OF THE TRAIL
THE MORMON OUTPOST OF SAN BERNARDINO
VALLEY

By Professor A. Harvey Collins

At the magnificent exposition recently held in San Francisco, there was one piece of sculpture which attracted unusual attention and interest, as was proven by the fact that hundreds of cities throughout the United States made "AT THE END OF THE TRAIL" their first choice in the distribution of these works of art at the close of the exposition. This ingenious design not only appropriately represented the elimination of our frontier but may as significantly represent the Ultima Thule of a migrating people or sect.

I have therefore chosen "At the 'End of the Trail'" as the title of this paper and in the development of the theme set forth some simple annals of a pioneer people—the Mormon Outpost of San Bernardino Valley.

Various incentives may lead men, organizations or nations to found these outposts of civilization, as the founding of the Marches by Charlemagne were for the purpose of protecting the empire against the inroads of the barbarians from the east, or the establishment of the Separatist Colony at Plymouth was prompted by religious conviction, or as the holders of the barren rock of Gibraltar occupy a strategic position for the defense of the British Empire and the protection of her Mediterranean commerce. Thus it is evident that outposts may be established, or frontier lines advanced for the protection of the realm, for religious propaganda, for territorial aggrandizement, for commercial dominance, et cetera.

One of these purposes may be sufficient to insure the success of the undertaking, but when two or more of them are combined we may expect greater and more rapid results. This is witnessed by the colonial expansion of France under Napoleon III, who successfully united two antagonistic factions, the industrial bourgeoisie and the Catholic clergy, the one for commercial aggrandizement the other for religious propaganda. Again, in our own California, the celerity with which Father Junipero Serra founded missions was accelerated by the desire to protect the Spanish Philippine trade and extend the jurisdiction of the Church.

The settlement of the fertile San Bernardino Valley by the Mormons combined political ambition, economic betterment and religious conviction.

The history of Mormonism from its inception may be conveniently divided into definite periods, one of which, the decade from 1820 to 1830, marks the vision-seeing of Joseph Smith, the publication of the Book of Mormonism and the organization of the early Church. During this period and extending through the next two decades the Mormons were subjected to much ridicule and not a little persecution. All the while the Church was being augmented by converts, nevertheless, seemingly to avoid trouble, the leaders successively transferred the headquarters of the organization from New York to Ohio, thence to Illinois, later to Missouri, to Iowa, to Nebraska, and lastly they trekked beyond the boundaries of the United States to Utah where they founded their permanent settlement and subdued the inhospitable desert. Brigham Young, chosen President upon the death of Joseph Smith, must have taken just pride in successfully conducting the journey over the plains, across the backbone of the continent to the settlement at Salt Lake City.

Roseate as the sunset sky as it closes the portals of the Golden Gate must have been President Young's vision of the future as he saw the whole Pacific Coast peopled with Latter Day Saints, the sway of the Faithful extending from the rolling Oregon to the capital of the ancient Montezumas and from the inviting portals of the Golden Gate to the centralization of power at Salt Lake City.

Mormon missionary efforts in Europe, in Asia, in South America, in Australia and in the islands of the Pacific were being rewarded with a harvest of hundreds of converts.

In order to realize the fulfillment of this dream of empire of the First President, what better plan could be conceived than to establish colonies of emigrants throughout this vast region, to serve as way stations to succor the weary traveling saint to and from the Mecca of the Faithful—Salt Lake City?

President Brigham Young further desired the establishment of a colony on or near the Pacific coast, not only as an outpost of the Church, but also as a Pacific gateway through which these foreign converts could be brought directly to Salt Lake City instead of disembarking them at New York harbor and subjecting them to the long, wearisome journey across the continent. The journey from this Pacific Colony overland to Salt Lake City was but one-third the distance from New York to the same destination.

This imperial dream was certainly the conception of a master mind and but for the Mexican War might have become more than a dream—a reality. The vast territory included within the bounds of the dream lay at that time wholly without the United States, was wholly unexplored and sparsely settled. Moreover, it was under the jurisdiction of a weak power whose seat of government was far away in the City of Mexico.

Contemporaneous with the plans of the Mormons to migrate beyond the then western boundary of the United States, came the trouble between the United States and the Imperial Government of Mexico which led to the Mexican War.

While the Mormons were encamped at Council Bluffs, Iowa, in 1846, completing preparations for the trek to the west, there appeared before their camp a deputation of United States Army officers from Fort Leavenworth and informed the Mormon leaders that General Kearny of that post had commissioned the deputation to inform them that the United States Government was unwilling to give its consent that so large a body of her citizens should leave her jurisdiction while entertaining the ill feeling the Mormons seemed to hold against the United States. Permission would, however, be granted on condition that the Mormons furnish a battalion for service in the United States Army against Mexico in the war then going on. If they refused to comply with this condition the band was to be broken up and dispersed throughout the States.

After a council of deliberation had been held it was decided to enlist a battalion for a year's service, with the proviso that the battalion should be demobilized on the Pacific Coast and be permitted to retain their arms.

When the lists were opened volunteers readily offered themselves until a regiment of 500 men was recruited, which became known as the Mormon Battalion. In the organization and career of this battalion we shall find the probable inception and origin of the Mormon Colony of San Bernardino Valley.

This Mormon Battalion of Iowa Volunteers was ordered to Santa Fé, New Mexico, and from thence to proceed overland to California and assist in the conquest of that far-away province of Mexico.

Under Lieutenant-Colonel Philip St. George Cooke the long overland march was undertaken and completed, but not without suffering many hardships and losses on the way. Arriving at San Diego in January, 1847, Colonel Cooke issued the following order of congratulation to the battalion:

HEADQUARTERS MORMON BATTALION

Mission of San Diego

January 30, 1847.

Order No. 1—

The Lieutenant-Colonel commanding congratulates the battalion on their safe arrival on the shore of the Pacific Ocean and the conclusion of their march of over 2,000 miles. History may be searched in vain for and equal march of infantry. Half of it has been through a wilderness where nothing but savages and wild beasts are found, or deserts where for want of water there is no living creature. There with almost hopeless labor we have dug deep wells which the future traveler will enjoy. Without a guide who had traversed them we have ventured into trackless table lands where water was not found for several marches. With crowbar and pick and axe in hand, we have worked our way over mountains which seemed to defy aught save the wild goat, and hewed a passage through the living rock more narrow than our wagons. To bring these wagons to the Pacific we have preserved the strength of our mules by herding them over large tracts, which you have laboriously guarded without loss. The garrison of four presidios of Sonora, concentrated within the walls of Tucson gave us pause. We drove them out with their artillery, but our intercourse with their citizens was unmarked by a single act of injustice. Thus marching half-naked and half fed and living upon wild animals we have discovered and made a road of great value to our country. Arrived at the first settlement of California after a single day's rest you cheerfully turned off the route from this point of promised repose to enter upon a campaign and meet as we supposed the approach of an enemy, and this too without even salt to season your sole subsistence of fresh meat. . . . Thus, Volunteers, you have exhibited some high and essential qualities of veterans. But much remains undone. Soon you will turn your attention to the drill, to system and order, to forms also which are all necessary to the soldier.

Lieutenant-Colonel P. St. George Cooke.

By order, P. C. Merrill, Adjutant.

Of this battalion General Kearny said: "Napoleon crossed the mountains, but the Mormon Battalion crossed a continent."

After a rest of but a few days the battalion was assigned to garrison duty at several points, being divided up for this purpose.

From Los Angeles Company C of the Mormon Battalion was ordered, in April, 1847, to proceed to Cajon Pass, just north of the present site of San Bernardino, and there take such a position as to prevent marauding and hostile Indians from coming into the valley to annoy the settlers.

In obedience to this order this Company effectively protected the people and at the same time became familiar with the climate, beauties and fertility of the valley. Moreover, during the period of their encampment in the pass many of the members procured furloughs and spent the time in working in the wheat harvests from the pass to the Rancho del Chino, for the purpose of getting provisions for the long trip to Salt Lake City, which they were planning against the time of the expiration of their enlistment. This

time came on March 14th, 1848, and on the 21st twenty-five of them set out for Salt Lake City, not tempted by the alluring news which had undoubtedly reached them of the gold strike in the north.

With one wagon and many pack mules this band of twenty-five indomitable men broke another trail across the desert and up through Nevada and Utah, arriving at Salt Lake City June 5th, 1848. Others of the battalion, after demobilizing, went north and worked in the mines a season, later going on to Utah.

From an unpublished history of San Bernardino in the archives at Salt Lake City I take the following: "A number of the brethren who had served in the Mormon Battalion and also a number who had visited California on different occasions were very favorably impressed with the sunny climate and fine facilities for farming and ranching on the Pacific Coast, and quite a number of them had expressed their desire to President Brigham Young to go there and establish a settlement of the Saints in Southern California.

"President Young seemed at first to be opposed to such a movement, as he desired all the Saints to gather in the valleys of the Rocky Mountains; but he finally yielded the point and to a certain extent waived his objections. At a meeting held at the President's office in Salt Lake City, February 23, 1851, a number of brethren were blessed and set apart by President Brigham Young and his councillors, for various missionary fields. Elder Amasa M. Lyman was set apart to take a company (together with Elder Charles C. Rich) to Southern California, to preside over the affairs of the Church in that land and to establish a stronghold for the gathering of the Saints.

"Plans were immediately set on foot to send out a company of about twenty-five persons under the leadership of these two men. But so many had heard of Southern California from those who had returned from the Mormon Battalion that when the lists were opened not twenty-five but five hundred were anxious to come.

"'I was sick,' said President Young, 'at so many of the Saints running to California chiefly after the gods of this world.'

"In that moment of surprise and disappointment was probably formed the determination in some way to bring back the faithful to the sacred Zion of the Church at Salt Lake City."

Among the interesting characters who played star roles in the early drama of Mormon migration from Salt Lake City to San Bernardino Valley, was Captain Jefferson Hunt.

He with two sons were among the first to enlist in the Mormon Battalion. He was at once commissioned Captain and placed in command of Company A.

Captain Hunt, while stationed at Los Angeles, had taken occasion to cultivate the acquaintance of the prominent men of Southern California of the time, and to make extended trips to examine thoroughly the nature of the country throughout the territory surrounding that city.

He it was who gave President Young definite information concerning San Bernardino Valley.

After receiving their discharges from the army, he and his sons went north into the mines where they were very successful. Later returning to Salt Lake he found not only his family but others in want for food. He at once organized an expedition and led it over a southern route and through the Cajon Pass into the San Bernardino Valley, thereby becoming the first white man to enter California by that now famous gateway.

Securing 300 cattle and 150 horses of the Lugos, he loaded them with supplies, and with a force of hired vaqueros returned to Salt Lake City. He next piloted a company of miners by this southern route into California. Some of this company, becoming impatient, left his guidance and became the victims of the Death Valley tragedy. Those who remained with him were brought safely through. Captain Hunt again hastened back to Salt Lake City and urged the sending out of an expedition to establish a colony in San Bernardino Valley.

Hunt was at once chosen as guide and organized the emigrants into three divisions, the better to insure water and forage through the desert.

With cattle and horses and tools and machinery and families the 500 people were ready to start in March of 1851. Without mishap of consequence the vanguard under Hunt came through the Cajon Pass and camped at Sycamore Grove, June 24, 1851. Within a few days the other divisions arrived, one under command of Captain Lytle encamped upon the stream that now bears that name, and gathers its crystal waters from the snowy slopes of "Old Baldy." Captain Hunt and others were so impressed with the possibilities of the Rancho del Chino that they planned to purchase that tract, but when negotiations were opened with this in view, Colonel Isaac Williams, the owner, considered it too good an investment to dispose of and refused to sell.

Before their encampments lay the stretching leagues of the Rancho de San Bernardino, the property of José

Maria Lugo, José Del Carmen Lugo, Vicente Lugo and a brother-in-law, Diego Sepulveda. The three brothers and Señora Sepulveda were the children of the proud, courtly old Spanish Don Antonio Maria Lugo, who owned one of the finest ranches of California, near Los Angeles.

From "El Faldo de Sierras" (brow of the mountains) above Arrowhead on the north to the "Lomeras" on the south and from Arroyo de Cajon on the west to the "Sierras de Yucaipe" on the east and probably beyond that crest into the beautiful valley of that name, stretched the broad acres of the Rancho de San Bernardino. To the owners of this rancho came Messrs. Lyman, Rich, Hanks and Robbins, with an offer to purchase.

"On September 22, 1851," says a Manuscript History of San Bernardino, "Apostles Amasa M. Lyman and Charles C. Rich and leading brethren of the intended California Colony concluded the purchase of a tract known as the Rancho de San Bernardino, containing between 80,000 and 100,000 acres of land. The soil on this purchase was very rich and water and timber abundant. The site for a settlement was selected with a view to forward the emigration from abroad to the valley of the Great Salt Lake and from Europe, in particular, agreeable to the instructions of the First Presidency in one of their general epistles."

The price was \$77,000. Without ready cash for the first payment a committee was sent to San Francisco, where the money was secured. On the return trip the parties with the money were met at San Pedro by Sheldon Stoddard, with a mule team for the journey overland to San Bernardino Valley.

In connection with this journey occurred one of the episodes of the Mormon period, interesting but not yet published, known as the "Robbery incident" and told by Sheldon Stoddard, who passed away early in May, of 1919, at San Bernardino. As the party approached Cucamonga with the treasure and the ever faithful mule team, instinctively—at least fortunately—one of these faithful animals was taken sick, and thus the party delayed for several hours. After proper treatment the animal recovered, and the party proceeding on their way arrived safely at Sycamore Grove. Upon hearsay and confirmed by investigation, they found that robbers had lain in wait for them along the route. "Unmistakable signs," says Mr. Stoddard, "were found near Lytle Creek wash, where the robbers had been concealed, and their horses had been tied. Growing weary at the delayed coming of their intended victims, the robbers had abandoned their intention and made off."

Thus the timely—one might almost say the providential—illness of a mule, an unusually healthy animal, frustrated the evil designs of these highwaymen, saved \$20,000 to its rightful owners and probably the lives of the protectors of the money.

According to the understanding of these Mormon Pioneers they were to receive 27 leagues of land by their contract with the Lugos, but it seems that the laws of California were so construed as to cut this down to eight leagues.

Rather than take the dispute into court where the chances would have been against them, they accepted the interpretation and were accorded their choice in selecting the eight leagues. As they put it, they selected "the very cream of the cocoanut."

Pressed by the necessity of providing food, the colonists were so eager to get to work that they began to put in crops even before the deed to the rancho had finally passed to the new owners. All the tract north of San Bernardino reaching to the mountains, 1300 acres, was planted to wheat.

That was an amazing first crop, too. All the stored-up fertility of the ages seemed waiting to smile bountifully upon those who first released this pent-up energy. This first crop was raised in common, and 1/10 of all the produce whether of grain or stock was turned over to the Church authorities and was, no doubt, in this case applied on the purchase price of the rancho. The surplus wheat both of the tenth and that which remained after providing for each family and for seed, was sold at \$4.00 per bushel or ground into flour and sold in Los Angeles at \$32.00 per barrel.

That the venture was a financial success is shown by the fact that during the six years of their sojourn in the valley, the debt incurred in the purchase of the Rancho was practically discharged.

The land was sold to individuals at from 11.00 to 16.00 dollars per acre, each buyer turning over his surplus produce to Elders Lyman and Rich to apply on the individual purchase and in turn converted into money paid for the rancho; this annual surplus together with the perfect tithing system of the organization, as stated above soon paid off the debt.

Building of the Fort—the Indian Scare

On the south side of the valley, just northwest of the present site of the Loma Linda Sanatorium, was the Rancheria of the Homoa Indians and up the San Timeteo Canyon beyond dwelt about 600 Coahuilla Indians under their able

and honest chief Juan Antonio. The latter were Mission taught Indians who wove the wool raised by the ranchers into blankets and other fabrics as they had been taught by the Padres. These tribes were seemingly on friendly terms with the white settlers of the valley, and Chief Antonio often smoked with them the Pipe of Peace. But through the passes of the mountains the warlike Utes and other desert tribes made raids into the valleys to drive off stock and commit other depredations.

Concerning the Indian scare and the building of the fort I quote from the unpublished history noted above:

"On November 23, 1851, John Lewis arrived from Los Angeles with alarming news to the effect that the Indians at the Colorado river had risen and killed all the Americans in that neighborhood and also Mr. Warner who lived about 75 miles this side of the river, as well as all the whites in the neighborhood of Temecula (60 miles south of San Bernardino). The report further stated that a confederacy had been formed between the Coahuilla Indians in the neighborhood of San Bernardino and all the mountain Indians as far up as Santa Barbara, and the Indians intended to attack all points between Santa Barbara and San Bernardino simultaneously. Brother Lyman, in consequence of this news deferred his departure for San Francisco. A strict guard was placed around the settlement for the night and a call made for a meeting of the whole camp on the morrow. A general drive was made the next day at San Bernardino and all the horses and cattle were coralled and a guard placed over them. Captains Hunt, Hunter and others were ordered out to reconnoitre and endeavor to ascertain the truth of the statements of the previous day. An order was also dispatched to the garrison at Rancho del Chino for arms and ammunition, the Mormon settlers being short of both. In the evening the camp came together to devise means for the safety and protection of the settlement. Captain Hunt, Hunter and others had returned and reported that according to what they could learn the statements of the previous day were correct, and a general feeling of alarm pervaded the country, though the animosity of the Indians appeared to be against the Americans particularly. Capt. Jefferson Hunt was appointed commander in chief of the forces of San Bernardino with John D. Hunter and Andrew Lytle as captains. The military strength of the settlement was composed of two divisions under the captains named. The question of building a fort was agitated and a strict guard ordered for the night and a meeting appointed for the morrow. On November 25, the weather was warm and pleasant in San Bernardino. The people turned out en masse to the meeting appointed, at which it was agreed that the building of a fort should commence immediately and that all the families comprising the settlement would move into the contemplated fort which should enclose eight acres of ground. This was supposed to be sufficient to include all the settlers. The brethren who were dispatched the day before for arms and ammunition returned this evening with arms and ammunition but not as much as was wanted; they brought only six muskets and 500 rounds of cartridges. Capt. Lovell, the commandant of the garrison at Chino, replying to the note of Bros. Lyman and Rich, suggested that the settlers of San Bernardino should fortify themselves and keep a vigilant guard. Before evening nearly all the families of the camp had moved in and the building of the fort had been commenced in earnest and this work so divided that each individual had a certain portion of the fort to finish. (For a full description of this fort, see Ingersoll's "Century Annals of San Bernardino County," 133-135.)

The fort was in the form of a parallelogram, 300 feet wide and 720 feet long. On the north and south ends and along the east side it was made by splitting cottonwood and willow tree trunks, fitting the edges tightly together and setting them three feet in the ground and leaving them twelve feet above ground. On the west side the wall was made by moving the log houses from their various locations about the settlement, and placing them with their outer walls joining to form a tight wall. When the supply of houses gave out they completed the side by laying up logs in block house fashion. Bastions at the corners and indented gateways permitted a cross fire on any foe who might attempt to come near to burn the fort. Loopholes for defense were made all along the outer walls. A stream of water was brought in from Lytle creek and widened into basins on the interior. Except on the west and within the inclosure rows of houses were built about 18 feet from the wall. Eighty-eight of these houses provided homes for the settlers. Additional sleeping quarters were provided in the covered wagon beds used in the overland trip from Salt Lake. Meeting and school house, store-house, wagon shop and central office provided ample facilities for the community life. Within this fortification at least 100 families and many unmarried adults lived for more than a year. There were not fewer than 150 able-bodied men acquainted with the use of fire arms and capable of defending the fort. Vigilant guard was kept night and day under the command of Captain Jefferson Hunt. No attack was made upon the fort. Perhaps the Indians, noting the splendid preparations made for defense, were deterred from raiding the valley.

However, as late as 1866, while some of the settlers were collecting their cattle from the mountains, mairading Indians fired from ambush and killed a Mr. Bemis, Mr. Parish and Mr. Whiteside. As the Indian scare died down the people began moving from the fort and again building homes on their own land.

Enterprise and Prosperity

That these pioneers were pleased with the country and enterprising in its development is shown by a letter written by Amasa M. Lyman, President, to Elder Franklin D. Richards from which I wish to quote *in extenso*:

1852. "As for ourselves, we have a great deal of labor attending new settlements in hand. In December, 1851, we had finished the survey of our big field of nearly two thousand acres; plowing and planting immediately followed; after which brother Rich, with a small party, started to look out a road from this place to San Diego. He succeeded in finding a good wagon road, with good feed and water all the way.

"In April, 1852, we reared our Bowery, which is an adobie building, sixty feet by thirty; in which we held our Conference on April 6th, which was a happy day with the Saints here. Eighty-one persons came forward and partook of the ordinance of baptism. The Bowery is occupied during the week by our Day School of one hundred and twenty-five scholars, under the direction of two well qualified teachers; and on the Sabbath, after the morning service, by our Sabbath School and Bible class, which are largely attended by old and young. We have in rapid progress a grist-mill of two run of stones, which, when completed, will be second to none in the States. For the present we shall use but one run of stone, and in place of the other, substitute a circular saw, which will supply us with lumber until we can take time to build a sawmill, which we shall erect this fall upon one of our mountain streams. One of our citizens has procured an engine and machinery, and contemplates the speedy erection of a steam saw-mill.

"We have completed a good wagon road to the dense forests of pine, hemlock, and red-wood, that cover the mountains adjacent to this place; so that we shall soon be able to supply this part of the state with lumber of the best quality, at less than gold mine prices.

"In March we commenced the survey of our city, and on the 8th day Brother Rich and myself planted the centre stake upon Temple Block. The site of our city resembles very much the site of Salt Lake City; in the rear we have the venerable snow-clad cap of the Sierra Nevada towering to the clouds, at the foot of which gush forth innumerable streams, whose crystal waters can be dispersed throughout the city, thereby affording to our citizens an abundant supply of that delicious beverage. The site is upon an inclined plane, at the foot of which for miles either way, extends a dense growth of willow, cottonwood, and sycamore, which affords an abundant supply of timber for fuel and fencing purposes. On the left breaks forth a bold mountain stream, called the Rio de San Bernardino, which affords an abundant supply of water for irrigation, as well as excellent sites for mills and manufactories.

"Near the river we have our youthful vineyard of forty acres, which we purpose to increase to a more respectable size in time. Near the vineyard in ruins, are evidences of the industry of the Jesuits, who occupied parts of this country when Catholicism swayed its iron sceptre over this lively, though benighted land.

"Within a mile of Temple Block there is a warm spring of pure water, which runs but a few steps until its mingles its waters with a sulphur spring; and another of pure cold water; so that when we have our bath-house erected, we can enjoy the luxury of the warm and cold bath in the same establishment; and should the invalid visit us, he can test the virtue of our medicinal springs.

"Our harvest of wheat has proved an abundant one, but I am not prepared to say what the yield has been to the acre. We have also every prospect of an abundant harvest of corn, beans, potatoes, etc.

"Flour has been selling since our arrival here, from 6½ dollars to 8 dollars per 100 lbs. Beef cattle from 12 dollars to 16 dollars. Milch cows, with calves from 15 to 25 dollars; horses from 30 to 80 dollars, and brood mares from 10 to 25 dollars; the brood mares are seldom broke to ride or work; when they are, they demand a high price.

"As to the climate it is as pleasant as we could wish. The past winter, which I learn is an average of the winters here, has been extremely mild and pleasant. At no time during the winter was the weather so cold that an overcoat was necessary. The first rain was on November 30th, a pleasant shower resembling a May shower rather than an indication of winter. The next was on the 5th of December, after which it rained at intervals until the first of April. It was seldom during the winter that the rain prevented our outdoor work. The

climate approximates nearer to perpetual spring and summer than any country that I have been in. The grass here becomes dry in June and July, but retains its nutriment, in December after the first rains nature is again robed in green.

"The hills as far as the eye can extend are covered with wild oats and mustard, and the valley with rich grass.

"Wheat is generally sown in November, and gathered in June; the soil and climate are well adapted to the culture of the olive, grape, fig, orange, peach, etc. Great attention is given to the culture of the grape, which is raised in great abundance, and of an excellent quality. Large quantities of wine are annually made here, which are consumed by the natives or shipped abroad. We find here in great abundance, a species of cactus, or as it is termed prickly pear, which grows in many instances to the height of thirty feet, and bears a delicious fruit, resembling in form the common English pear; one kind is a deep scarlet color, another yellow. It was in time gone by used for fencing purposes, and even now we find vineyards and orchards enclosed with it."

Through the courtesy of Dr. Edward I. Rich of Ogden, the son of Elder Charles C. Rich, Mr. Joseph Fielding Smith, Jr., Assistant in the Latter Day Saints' Historian's office at Salt Lake City, sent me a copy of the letter from which I have just quoted, and also excerpts from the unpublished History of the Mormons of San Bernardino Valley. At the risk of overtaxing your patience may I quote further from these annals:

"Independence Day, 1852, was celebrated by the people gathering in the Bowery and listening to an eloquent speech by President Amasa M. Lyman. Monday, July 5, 1852, the celebration was continued by the people of the settlement turning out and cutting down and binding up all the wheat on Brother Charles C. Rich's field. During this same month the mill at San Bernardino ground its first wheat, when it was found that the machinery was not in complete order, so that flour could not be made until the necessary repairs had been finished.

"In August the Bowery was completed and later in the month a number of the brethren hauled a steam engine up into the mountains to run their saw-mill.

"During the fall of 1852, the people were busy gathering in their grain and had two threshing machines in operation, one of which was run by water power and the other by horse power. These threshers were made by the settlers of San Bernardino.

"1853. During this year many more people were added to the settlement and the brethren brought under cultivation 2,000 additional acres of land. Another mill was built and this one and the other flour mills were kept busy grinding the grain for the people there and to sell to help pay off the remaining indebtedness upon the ranch. Flour cost from 50 to 60 dollars per barrel. The daily schools were well attended by the children of the settlement.

"San Bernardino County was organized, which extended north of San Diego, some forty or fifty miles, connects on the east with Utah and reaches westward within 25 or 30 miles of the ocean. The following were elected to the different county offices: Daniel M. Thomas, Judge; Henry G. Sherwood, Surveyor; Quartus S. Sparks, Attorney; Robert Clift, Sheriff; William Stout, Assessor; David Seely, Treasurer; William J. Cox, Coroner; Richard H. Hopkins, Clerk and Recorder.

"During this year the brethren succeeded in getting their canal built, bringing the water from the mountains into the fort.

"During the years of 1854-55 the brethren each year planted more

than 4,000 acres of grain but the crops were not very heavy owing to the blight and rust.

"1856. Early in February, the people were busy making gardens and set out several thousand fruit trees. The crops were very good this year. A party in opposition to the Mormon settlers in San Bernardino was organized and tried their best, at the elections, to gain control of the settlement. During this year several new stores were erected, many improvements made in the old stores and the spirit of enterprise which characterizes the people of California is as observable here as in the older and more populous communities. There were about three thousand people in San Bernardino at this time. From the Assessors list we extract the following concerning the number of cattle at the ranch:

American Cows	13,500
California Cows	618
American Oxen	230
American Horses	174
California Horses	1,383
Mules	229
Sheep	3,917
Goats	500
Hogs	437

20,988

"The amount of grain raised:

Wheat	30,000 bushels
Barley	15,000 bushels
Corn	7,000 bushels
Oats	200 bushels

52,200 bushels

"There are seven saw-mills, six driven by water power and one by steam. There are two shingle-mills, which have cut during the season 500,000 shingles.

"1857. During the year of 1857, San Bernardino was visited by a number of severe earth-quakes which did considerable damage. The crops were only fair, owing to the draught, however, more barley and wheat was raised than the previous year. The Indians also attacked the settlement and the apostate Mormons were very busy trying to incite the public mind against the Mormon people at San Bernardino."

Relations with the Gentiles

Attracted by the richness and beauty of the valley and by the noted prosperity of the settlers, many Gentiles made their way into the settlement. Some of these had no doubt come dissatisfied from the gold fields and others directly from the east or south.

Almost from the arrival of these non-Mormons there arose a feeling of antagonism or jealousy between the two factions. This feeling was strongly emphasised in the rival celebrations of the Fourth of July, 1856. Of this event Ingersoll in his History of San Bernardino County says:

"In 1856 the 'Independents,' as the party which was coming into opposition to the church party was called, decided to have a regular old-fashioned 'back-east' Fourth of July celebration. Accordingly a committee was appointed to make the arrangements for the affair, which was to be open to all—without regard to party lines. But the Church party at once announced their intention to celebrate the day without

paying any attention to the move already underway. Naturally a rivalry between the two parties followed. The Independents procured a flag pole 60 feet high and erected it on the south side of Third Street. The other party procured a pole 100 feet high and put it up on the public plaza. The Independents procured a new flag and ran it up—the church people got a larger flag and hoisted it; the Independents erected a bowery covered with green brush and placed seats for an audience; their rivals set up a larger bowery with seats for a larger audience. On the great day the Third Street patriots organized an impromptu chorus which sang the patriotic songs, but the Mormons had secured a band of musical instruments which made more noise. The church party had also gotten together a mounted squad of some 25 or 30 young men uniformed in red flannel shirts, black pantaloons and hats, who acted as escort for the officers of the day. Here they got the better of their competitors, who had no guard and no procession. But the church party fired salutes with a little brass cannon which the other party named the 'pop-gun,' while the Independents had a real cannon which made the mountains echo with its deep reports.

"At the plaza an oration was delivered, which while fairly patriotic still took occasion to score the Government for its degeneracy, according to the ideas of Brigham Young's followers.

"At Third Street, Q. S. Sparks, then well known as a brilliant speaker, delivered an oration picturing in glowing terms the past and the present glory of our nation—with a good-natured fling at those who drew off to observe the day by themselves. Although the Independents had the smaller following they enjoyed their celebration and their dinner, and felt that they had succeeded in carrying out their intentions. There was no disturbance or hard feelings, the people went back and forth between the two centers of interest, and the Church squad visited Third Street in a body and saluted their flag."

The Return

After six years of happy, prosperous life in the valley, Supreme President Brigham Young put into execution a probably preconceived determination to gather the Latter Day Saints nearer to the central and sacred city. The consummation of the plan was further hastened by the fact that trouble had arisen between President Young's State of Deseret and the authorities of the United States. The quarrel had come to such a pass that United States troops had been ordered to Utah to enforce the laws of the United States. In order to make a showing of force, probably with little intention of actual resistance, Young ordered the faithful to rally in strength at Salt Lake City. As their history says, "Owing to the coming of Johnson's army, which threatened to destroy the people of Utah, most of the settlers of San Bernardino Valley left their homes for Utah. This year 1857 and the beginning of 1858 saw the complete evacuation of the San Bernardino Rancho."

Of the 700 Mormons of San Bernardino Valley, probably 600 obeyed the call of President Young. Others who were Josephites chose rather to abide in the land they had colonized and where for the first time they had brought civilization, beauty and economic thrift to a vast country

of unlimited possibilities and where a genial climate had bountifully rewarded their efforts.

Those who obeyed the summons of their Supreme President sold their property, accumulated by hard work and economy, at enormous sacrifices,—an improved farm for a camping outfit, a well furnished four-room house for \$40, with a buggy, a cloak and a sack of sugar thrown in for good measure.

In later years a number of those who obeyed the summons to Salt Lake City returned to the beautiful valley of their earlier happiness and prosperity and their descendants in the faith are counted among our substantial citizens today.

Social Life

Between those of the Mormons who did not obey the recall to Salt Lake City and the other settlers of the Valley, there now sprang up a friendly community spirit. This feeling of neighborliness was first manifested in the organization of a union Sunday School, which was attended by all creeds and factions. Socially this feeling was fostered by candy pullings, May parties, peach cuttings, apple parings and corn huskings. As the latter would grow monotonous without the frequent red ear with its significant and privileged results, it is stated on good authority that some of the gallant swains planted red seed hoping to harvest a crop of red ears. The same authority further told me that one or two young men were often guilty of preparing a few ears before going to the parties by the lavish use of red ink.

But the gathering of all gatherings was the Spelling School. In the rude school house of round logs they met regularly, and in the flickering yellow light of the tallow candles provided by each one, they received erudition from Webster's old blue-backed Elementary Spelling Book. When they had spelled down the proper number of times the boys "saw the girls home" under the glimmering stars and the moonbeams' silvery light, while the Arrowhead kept watch above his own.

Dramatis Personae

These annals would not be complete without the introduction of a few more of the sturdy men and women who played more than minor roles in this drama of real life.

I have already mentioned Captain Jefferson Hunt, who has well been called the "Father of San Bernardino Colony." While serving in the State Legislature from Los Angeles County, of which San Bernardino Valley was then

a part, he presented the bill for forming the County of San Bernardino, and thereafter represented the new county until his departure in obedience to the call from Salt Lake City. Three daughters, Mrs. Nancy Daley, now in the sunset hours of life, Mrs. Harriet Mayfield, and Mrs. Sheldon Stoddard were among the best known and most loved women of San Bernardino.

Sheldon Stoddard, born in 1830, passed away at his home in San Bernardino in May, 1919. He married a daughter of Jefferson Hunt in 1851, and the overland trip to San Bernardino Valley was their wedding tour. I am indebted to Mr. Stoddard through Mr. John Brown, Jr., for the story of the robbery noted above and here given to the public for the first time.

Then there was Uncle Joe Hancock, whose grandfather, Henry Hancock, was a brother of John Hancock the first signer of the Declaration of Independence. Uncle Joe is now in his 97th year, active in body and with a mind as clear as a bell. I spent several hours with him a short time ago, listening to interesting accounts of the early events of his long life. He now lives with a daughter, Mrs. Lord, who cares for her aged father very tenderly. Mrs. Lord herself preserves those fine features and that dignity of carriage which time and again crowned her queen of the May Day festivals of the earlier days.

A few years ago the Story of a Mormon Bishop and his son was written by the facile pen of Dr. H. W. Mills. Like Charlemagne the son has proven of more interest than the father, and we have with us George Miller, Jr., hunter, pathfinder, excellent story teller, singer of old time comic songs, orange grower and honored citizen. Mr. Miller as a hunter was a dead shot and has the distinction of alone killing the last and fiercest grizzly bear of the San Bernardino mountains.

John Brown, Sr., early took a prominent part in the affairs of the settlement. He was elected one of the first Justices of the Peace, in 1853. In 1888 he became a charter member and organizer of the San Bernardino Society of California Pioneers. Mr. Brown, Sr., passed away about ten years ago and left to us the Noblest Roman of them all, John Brown, Jr., whom everybody loves and to whom I have been drawn as to an elder brother. He is the monitor of the pioneers of the valley and from him can be obtained authentic information on anything pertaining to the past or present history of the locality. For thirty years he has been the efficient secretary and life of the San Bernardino Society of California Pioneers. Every Saturday afternoon

you will find him at the "Log House," where the society meets. For his helpful suggestions and assistance, in gathering the material for this paper, I am very grateful.

San Bernardino, San Jacinto and San Gorgonio mountain peaks, sublimely grand and faithful "Sentinels of the Valley," grim and silent, saw the valley emerge from primeval ocean or lake bed; saw it lie through centuries desolate and barren of life; saw it gradually emerge from its desolation until, revelling in a wilderness of verdure, it laughed up at the cloudless sky as though intoxicated with the exuberance of living.

Civilized man followed savage man and harnessed nature to the plough of his needs. From the tangled wilderness of untamed beauty he developed an earthly paradise, for here nature and art combined to touch perfection. "They have cultivated the land until it teems with blossom and fruitage; they have dotted the valley with thriving cities and villages."

And all this has been done within the memory of men still living among us.

"The mountains can afford to wait for they know the possibilities of Time; but man, ever conscious of the briefness of his day, grows impatient and looks toward the elusive future for the fruition of his happiness."